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FOCUS
MIDWEST

62



JAMES T. FARRELL/CHICAGO 1929-1930

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

"Why must we always feel compelled to justify our existence on the basis of noble purpose? The pure, unvarnished truth is: We serve business, not the public," declared Marvin S. Cantz in an address to advertising men, as quoted in *Advertising Age*, April 16, 1962.

A majority of the Board of Directors of the Pittsburgh Symphony Society has decided that Dmitri Shostakovich's newest symphony—the twelfth—has such political and propaganda overtones that the orchestra should neither record it nor be the first to play it publicly in the United States.

Pictures and documents were submitted to the Israeli press by Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen of Rumania which, he said, showed that Bishop Vioral Trifu, now in Detroit, was the former head of the student organization of the Rumanian Iron Guard, which conducted pogroms on Jews under the Antonescu regime.

The St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee has requested changes in the state penitentiary rule about printed matter for inmates, charging that the rule interferes with religious freedom. Prisoners have been denied the right to buy anti-religious books and magazines from the Friendship Liberal League of Philadelphia, although one man was allowed to receive the New Testament from the League.

A Federal District Court has issued an injunction—based on the 14th Amendment to the federal constitution and the Kansas Act against Discrimination—forbidding the Kansas State Employment Service from accepting and servicing discriminatory job orders. The decree also enjoins the KSES from refusing to refer or place negroes.

While President Kennedy told West Point's 1962 class that they bear a responsibility to deter wars and that the basic problems pressing on the world cannot be solved by military action, a prep school senior at Blue Hill, Maine, was forbidden to deliver his valedictory address because he called on the United States to work for disarmament, stop all nuclear tests, end all production of nuclear weapons, disarm all bases on foreign soil of nuclear weapons, and put all Polaris-firing submarines in mothballs. J. Mahlon Miles, principal of Blue Hill-Stevens Academy, called Russell Salisbury's speech "pink and dangerous."

Seating habits of a twelve-man jury were surveyed by the University of Chicago in a study of 69 experimental deliberations in Chicago and St. Louis. The findings: ". . . the (jury) foreman is most frequently selected from one of the two persons seated at the ends of the table. The (percentage) distribution of foreman by position was as follows: end, 16.0; corner, 5.5; flank, 2.5; and middle, 2.5 . . ."

Tenth-graders at John Burroughs School were guests of Mrs. Paul D. Haglin, 48 Enfield Road, Olivette, Mo., to learn how to fight Communism. Among others, she urged that the children read the John Birch Society's "Blue Book," although she personally had no use for the Society. The gatherings were held in line with a suggestion by Dr. Frederick C. Schwartz, who conducted an Anti-Communism School in April, 1961.

Delegates to the Golden Age and Senior Citizens Clubs meeting at Evansville, Indiana, refused to grant a charter to a Negro group from St. Louis. The Capri Bond Senior Citizens Club of St. Louis has 13 members. As a result of the vote the Evansville delegation walked out.

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Letters

Negro Housing

I read with great interest the interview on Negro Housing with P.C. Robinson and must admit the accuracy of his comments, particularly those concerning the advertising in the classified sections of the newspapers. One test of the sincerity of a paper would be when its advertising pages get in line with its proclaimed editorial policy. This we have yet to see in St. Louis.

One minute ray of hope however: I have lived for seven years in a small private street of one family houses entitled Windermere Place. When I first moved in, there was one Negro family in residence. Now slightly over half of the 28 houses are occupied by Negroes. Yet, after the usual flurry of departures had subsided, we find a street composed of admirable citizens of all colors, largely professional people: doctors, lawyers, teachers and the like. Two white families with children moved into a situation which was already clear to every one. They did it with courage and conviction and we are proud to call them neighbors. They are really living what most people are only at best still discussing.

Charles Nagel
City Art Museum
St. Louis

State Legislatures

I enjoyed the first issue of FOCUS/Midwest greatly, and hope and feel it will succeed. Much praise is due you as I know the amount of time and work which went into the launching of this project.

Having a good deal of contact with the Missouri General Assembly, I found the article "Two State Legislatures" to be most interesting (and to learn that the author apparently considers the Missouri Legislature a cut above the same body in Illinois).

One correction is in order. The Kansas City Star clipping . . . which you mentioned in the column "Out-of-Focus," had reference to the police department of Excelsior Springs, whose chief is Darrel F. Holmes,

Jr.; the chief in Kansas City is Clarence Kelly.

James D. H. Reefer
Kansas City

Note:

Our apologies for the error.

EDITOR

I received a copy of FOCUS/Midwest. I notice your stationery includes the names of Paul Simon, Irving Dilliard and Abner Mikva. This would suggest to me that you intend to make it a Democrat publication. The article on the Missouri and Illinois Legislatures was fairly well loaded with half-truths and innuendoes, which, I am sure, would be misleading to anyone who was not familiar with the legislative process in Illinois. I noticed it was very careful not to suggest that the Chicago members on the Democrat side of the aisle are hand-picked by the machine. It will be interesting to see what you choose to insert in future issues.

Dwight P. Friedrich
State Senator (Illinois)

Kansas City

The most significant aspect of intellectual life in Kansas City today is the public quietude of so many liberals in the community. By this I mean that the public forum, vocally and through the press, is being monopolized by the radical right. One does not deny the democratic privilege of that radical right to express itself on issues that concern it, but what is dismaying is that the liberal element just listens, or reads, and in private conversation bemoans the attitude taken—and it stops right there. This permits an atmosphere of suppression to hover over public discourse, not because there aren't individuals who disagree, but because these individuals don't want to make a "public fuss".

But the radical right doesn't mind making such a fuss, and they are well-planned enough to distract the issues from their merits and to impugn the motives of the defenders. Mean-

while, the proponent of the opposite side finds himself fighting alone, with whispers from the side-line to keep on fighting, and he has to face the verbal onslaught of these basically anti-democratic elements, who don't care what weapons are used to silence the opposition. Then, once again, the liberal who dared to oppose the radical right is solaced in private, and the battle goes on again ad infinitum.

This isn't only a matter of differing on issues; this is a matter of understanding that the liberals are forfeiting their privileges when they don't use them. The press and forum is free when *used*; their use determines the extent of their freedom. The radical right differs on just this issue; they understand full well that if they cow the liberals, they have won more than half the battle. The object of liberalism is just that opening of all channels of communication, and to fight the radical right with the same weapons of determination that they themselves use.

In essence, the principle of democracy is at stake, even in Kansas City. We must disturb the apathy of the latent liberal element, to get into the fight and not be deluded by quasi-theological slogans and false historical analogies. The United States is the last refuge of freedom, and it is worth fighting for.

Irving Levitas
Great Neck, N. Y.
(formerly of Kansas City)

Congratulatory

(It is impossible for us to answer individually the many kind letters and words of encouragement. We deeply appreciate these expressions of good will and offer our thanks to all.)

The Staff

It looks like a good start and I wish you success in your undertaking.

Adlai E. Stevenson
U. S. Representative
To The United Nations

Its contents looks very interesting and I look forward to reading it.
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EDITORIAL

THE ISSUE-ORIENTED intelligentsia, if conservative, speaks a language of the twenties. Amused, the sophisticated liberal counters with a progressivism of the thirties. This, in essence, is a crude reflection of a deeply felt insufficiency. Searching, many dismiss the one as archaic; the other, as moving parallel but not in touch with the reality imposed by a world in revolution.

In many parts of the world, revolutions, not evolution, dominate political and social processes, scientific and technical developments, even moral and ethical allegiances. Why haven't these violent changes affected our more popular political or economic programs and policies?

We want to suggest that there is a necessary lag between the observation and absorption of a fact (particularly a revolution) and its popularization and utilization by the main stream of national thought. This lag affects the tempo of our awareness and therefore the degree of our personal as well as national involvement. It forces us to operate the tools of the sixties with the concepts and images of the thirties or the twenties.

This is frightening. The faster and more violent the rate of change, the more perilous our place within a maturing world.

Viewing the contemporary world with concepts of a past day, we operate in uncertainty and darkness. And in darkness men fear. To overcome this fear of revolutions, we must not only be subjected to them, but we must also be mentally aware of them. Once we see, we can hold them up against our convictions and then decide whether to modify a concept, or to uphold it at a sacrifice, or laboriously to reconcile the two. To choose, we must know the alternatives.

WHAT ARE these revolutionary changes which even the occasional newspaper reader knows, but which he and many others fail to integrate into their consciousness. Examples can be taken from nearly every field of endeavor. Here we will mention only some economic developments, all covered in the press. They take place in "far off" lands, and our predispositions are less likely to blur our vision.

Expiring colonial empires have given birth to a host of new nations, when the demands of a true national and economic independence have practically obliterated the economic viability of such small nations. Weakened continental Europe has drawn upon new ideas, a new nationalism which appears attractive even to Britain at the expense of its own Commonwealth. Paradoxically, it draws the ire of the

Soviet government, following a similar policy, and the applause of the American government, which would not dare to initiate openly such moves on the American continents.

There is an evident trend towards more economic planning in Europe, the underdeveloped countries as well as in America. (Curiously, Communist nations have shown deviations from an earlier and much stricter program.) Planning to produce industrial wealth and create a middle class has become the key to national growth. Forced capitalization in the developmental stage of new countries at the expense of personal freedoms is even advocated by American planners. Such industrial wealth will not be the result of an extended economic evolution. It will jump stages in its development at the expense of an integrated economy. Yet, while the developed countries are beginning to meet the expectations of its people for the first time in history, the underdeveloped countries do not have any immediate prospects of meeting such expectations, loudly and immediately demanded. These demands are partly met by a rapprochement, in terms of aid and loans, among nations of widely diverse economic developments in the non-communist part of the world, while there is evidence of some difficulties among such nations in the less flexible communist world.

ENOUGH HAS been said, we believe, to make a point. Of course, we can assume that some people in our government, at least the present one, are not only aware but have fully developed thoughts and possibly programs of action on these subjects. But if so, the public is spared the shock of recognition.

Is the propriety of economic planning as planning, anywhere publicly upheld as, at least, necessary (unless an industry is on the verge of bankruptcy)? What ideas have been offered to an America faced with the economic threat and marvellous innovation of a Common Market — except for a tariff reduction which may portend larger things, but no one talks about them. What will happen to our ideas on "sovereignty" in view of Europe's astounding transformation? Must the new nations learn and suffer through the same convulsions older states have experienced? Or, can they jump stages to a new form of international association? What relationship does a popular democracy have to its rate of industrialization? How can we reconcile the need of a democracy for a strong and heavy industry, and the need of a growing industry for strict control?

Continued on page 17



Irving Dilliard

State of Freedom At Midwestern Universities

IDEAS ABOUT the role of the university in a free society vary greatly in the Midwest. They vary greatly within the university community itself. Just now the contrast is marked between Washington University at St. Louis and the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Minnesota on one hand and Ohio State University and Marquette University, Milwaukee, on the other hand.

At Ohio State University — where student and staff population totals more than 25,000 — faculty members have been told in essence by the president of the Board of Regents that "if they do not like it here, they can pack up and go somewhere else."

The regent who produced this notable encouragement to scholarship's untrammelled search for truth is none other than former Republican Senator John W. Bricker, now an official of Ohio State University through appointment by the Governor of Ohio.

But at Washington University in St. Louis, there is a new Chancellor, political scientist Thomas H. Eliot, who believes that a university without controversy on its campus is "a dead university." Mr. Eliot, who served in the national House of Representatives from Massachusetts as a Democrat, puts it this way:

"In a rapidly changing world, zealous learning must include fresh inquiry, more searching analysis, reassessment of traditions and norms and customs."

If this needed inquiry, analysis, and reassessment are to be achieved, says

Chancellor Eliot, the chief task of the university faculty then is to teach students to think — "not how to think, not what to think, but to be able to think clearly and incisively and dispassionately about every serious problem that may arise."

Who in general is to be allowed to speak at colleges and universities, and, in particular, is a Communist or other so-called "leftwing" representative to be allowed to present his views to students at a university-accredited meeting in a university building? In one form or another this issue has been before a large number of Midwestern universities in recent weeks.

Washington University, and the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Minnesota all took Communist or leftwing speakers in stride and the heavens did not fall. But at Ohio State, where the President, Novice G. Fawcett, cancelled an announced meeting, the faculty is sorely torn and the student newspaper, the 80-year-old Ohio State Lantern has said editorially: "So long as this threat of severe restrictions on academic freedom exists at Ohio State, we believe true education here will be impossible."

At the University of Wisconsin Clarence Manion, former law dean at Notre Dame University and now a director of the John Birch Society, and Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist party, were granted the use of university buildings.

So was Frank Wilkinson, an avowed critic of the House Un-American

Activities Committee, who spent most of a year, 1961-62, in federal prison after losing, 5-to-4 in the Supreme Court, a contempt case arising from his refusal to discuss his economic, political or other views before an agency of government.

THIS RELIANCE on free discussion and the right of the people to pick and choose whom they are to hear goes back a long way at Madison. In 1894 Richard T. Ely, then professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin, was denounced by Oliver E. Wells, a state official, as "an heretical and seditious teacher" who had interfered in a strike of the printing trade. A hearing held by the University's Board of Regents not only cleared Dr. Ely but also led to the preparation and issuance of a notable statement of academic principle.

In 1910 the final sentence in this statement was ordered to be placed on a bronze tablet, set in the wall of the main building of the university, Bascom Hall. Dedicated in 1915, the tablet of the Board of Regents reads:

"Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

The University of Minnesota may not have its academic freedom creed cast in a bronze tablet, but its new president, Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, guides by the basic principle of free

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The State and The Mentally Ill / ADDISON DUVAL, M.D.

*Restricted by Many Built-In Limitations,
The Possible Changes Depend Largely Upon
The Voting Citizen — Can He Be Induced To Care?*

THE STRUGGLE continues for improved state mental health programs. In some states, the rate of improvement is steady and consistent, while in others it fluctuates very much. Serious problems face the states as they try to move forward in this area of such great importance.

In the 1960 study (*A Ten-Year Mental Health Program for Missouri*) we said, "The basic aims of a state mental health program are (1) to provide modern care and treatment of the state's mentally ill and disabled where this is not provided by other means, and (2) to establish a preventive plan to forestall the development of mental illness or disability."

To understand how these aims might be realized, it will be necessary first to deal with the rather shocking situation today. Only then can we know how to plan further improvements.

The enormity of this problem can be appraised by these conditions:

1. One in ten persons in the general population suffers from mental illness.
2. Three of every one hundred new-born children are mentally retarded.
3. More hospital beds are now occupied by the mentally ill than by the physically ill.
4. The average number of patients in public mental hospitals on any one day is approximately 550,000.
5. Three times as many people are admitted to mental hospitals each year as are sentenced to state and federal prisons.
6. Most public mental institutions are seriously overcrowded and many are outmoded and antiquated.
7. Less than 10% of these in-

stitutions rate unconditional approval as hospitals.

8. To treat patients properly, the professional staff needs to be doubled in public mental hospitals.
9. Community mental health services are in extremely short supply although vital to program progress.
10. Many states are providing almost no funds for research in mental illness.

Other operating conditions in our state hospitals, about which we hear little, should be faced realistically. Of primary importance is the mass of patients herded together in large barn-like buildings who cannot be treated on an individual basis. These patients soon lose their motivation to recover because they lack meaningful individual relationships. Unavoidably, a new disability is added to the already existing mental illness. Event-

ual recovery becomes a mathematical improbability. To correct this we need smaller and better equipped nursing units and sharply increased professional staff.

ALSO ADVERSELY affecting good state hospital programs is the shortage of American-born and American-trained physicians and psychiatrists on the staff. I do not mean to decry the presence of well-trained foreign-born physicians, for most of our state hospitals could not possibly exist without them today. However, many of these physicians have only recently arrived in this country. They are not well-versed in our language or our customs, and it is therefore humanly impossible for them to operate at their best potential. Because of low state salaries and the high esteem enjoyed by the psychiatrist in private practice, we attract only a few well-trained American physicians to our state mental hospitals. This is the tragic reality.

The third condition adversely affecting state hospital programs is the perennial lack of adequate funds. Some mental hospital program directors have been accused of trying to get "more than our share" of state funds. This has never bothered my conscience for I have always believed the state legislature will follow the will of the people they represent, and if the people really want a program they will not object to paying for it.

If we find a way to inform the people of the true state of affairs in state hospitals, of the elements making up a modern treatment program, and of the amount of money necessary to execute this program, adequate financing will become available. Such a plan requires aggressive leadership; unfortunately, aggressive mental health directors are getting scarce. Also, they are not popular with Governors who want to continue weak mental health programs which obviously cost less money than strong ones. The psychiatrist director must resolve whether he will "go along" with a poor treatment program in the state, saying little, putting up the best front possible, doing the best with what is available, or whether he will be outspoken in his objections to such inadequacy and possibly find himself replaced. These are problems which must be decided by each program director in accordance with his conscience, his integrity, and his best value judgments. However, it is not surprising that when young, well-qualified psychiatrists in the state hospital systems see these major re-

curing policy struggles, it does not take them long to decide that their professional life might be spent more happily and profitably in the field of private practice rather than in state service. Only the few who have a heavier endowment of the "missionary spirit" care to continue the fatiguing crusade for better treatment programs in the state system.

WHAT ARE the reasons for the shortage of psychiatrists in public mental hospitals and what can be done about it? George Albee in *Mental Health Manpower Trends* reports that there are now approximately 10,000 psychiatrists in practice in the United States. He estimates that about one-third are working in public mental hospitals, about one-third in private practice, and about one-third in clinics, in teaching and research, and in private mental hospitals.

Each year about 500 new physicians qualify as specialists in psychiatry. More than half of these immediately enter private practice. A part of the remainder join public mental hospitals, but this number hardly replaces the psychiatrists who retire or die in office. The number of psychiatrists in public mental hospitals represent less than 50 per cent of the number needed—a rather bleak and discouraging situation.

Why do not more medical school graduates enter psychiatry as a specialty? This question is not easily answered. About six per cent of the medical specialists are psychiatrists. Probably, the old medical school attitude that a young doctor must be "nuts" to go into psychiatry is still influential. Apparently, there is more romance and glory in such fields as surgery or cardiology. Part of the problem, no doubt, stems from the ineffective teaching staff in psychiatry in some of our medical schools.

Why do not more of the present college graduates go into medicine? Possibly, the number could be increased by establishing new medical schools but the shortage of qualified teachers in our medical schools is already a major problem. Finding qualified staff for additional schools would be even more difficult.

The shortage of professional staff in public mental hospitals obviously is a most complex and perplexing question. Although painful to the taxpayer, if the salaries of the psychiatrist in public mental hospitals would be made equal to about 80 per cent of the salary of the psychiatrist in private practice, it would provide more psychiatrists for mental hos-



Dr. Addison M. Duval

pitals and leave fewer in private practice. From a public health standpoint, this could not be recommended for we still believe in treating the patient early and in the home if possible, and this area is now the special province of the private psychiatrist.

In comparison with other types of professional staff in the public mental hospital, the shortage is very much the same. Clinical psychologists are at about 65 per cent, social workers 36 per cent, and registered nurses 20 per cent of the actual number needed at present.

These percentages would seem to indicate that too few college graduates are entering these professional fields and, more important, that we have too few college graduates. This impression is verified by the actual figures.

Albee points out that our potential reservoir of professional manpower lies in the able-minded high school students who for some reason do not go to college at all.

Lost from college graduation are two-thirds of those with the mental ability to graduate from college and hopefully enter the professions. Somehow, America has lost respect for high education and has turned for status symbols to material things.

OTHER ASPECTS of this overall problem of too many patients and too little staff in public mental hospitals deserve attention. Plans ought to be developed to transfer a number of mental hospital patients back to the community. Licensed nursing homes, foster homes, and all-purpose psychiatric clinic services can be used. Such a program would not only reduce overcrowding of patients in the hospital, but also reduce the patient load of each staff member and permit concentration of treatment on recoverable patients.

Other helpful developments might include the greater use of psychiatric units in general hospitals (if psychiatrists are available) and of private mental hospitals with tax funds paying for services rendered. General practitioners and family doctors have much to offer in the way of psychiatric help — both in the community and on the staff of the public mental hospital.

Again, we could develop a plan of using less well-trained therapists than we now insist upon. Such persons, if college graduates, might be specially trained in the field of psychotherapy without the requirement of going to medical school or taking a Ph.D. in psychology. With this training, such therapist-assistants could be of much value, particularly if they worked under the psychiatrist's direct supervision.

More personnel might become available if more states would offer financial aid to graduate students in mental health disciplines. Several states are trying out this approach.

American business is spending from 5 to 10 per cent of their budget for research. Progress is thus made possible and "progress may be our most important product". The same principle applies to research in mental illness. Mike Gorman states that mental illness is costing America over 4 billion dollars annually.

In the face of this enormous cost, only a pittance is spent for research — less than 2 per cent of the cost of mental illness. In 1959 the nation spent more than 230 times as much money for alcoholic beverages as for research in mental illness. A large part of the money for research is being provided by the Federal Government through the National Institute of Mental Health. The performance of the states in this field is very erratic.

Research is the primary hope of the future and it is not sound business planning that so little money for research is provided by the states. The National Governors' Conference has recommended that 10 per cent of each state's mental health budget should be spent for training and research. Very few have followed this recommendation.

THE CARE and treatment of the mentally deficient or mentally retarded cannot be adequately discussed here. About 3 to 5 per cent of the population is mentally subnormal in intelligence. Approximately 10 per cent of this group will need hospitalization at some period of their lives. Many families cannot afford private

hospital care for the long period which so many of these patients require, so the burden of providing facilities tends to fall largely upon the states. Because of the chronic nature of the severely retarded patients, it is even more difficult to find adequate professional staff for the care and treatment of these patients than for the mentally ill. A recent upsurge of interest in the problem of mental deficiency, due to successful research in this field as well as the intense interest of such citizen groups as the National Association for Retarded Children, may be a hopeful sign for better future staffing of hospital facilities for the mentally retarded.

At the 1961 annual meeting of the National Governors' Conference, many Governors spoke of the improvements being made in their states' mental health programs. Their final recommendations were progressive and forward looking. One cannot help but wonder whether the 18 Governors in attendance represented only the progressive states. Where were the other 32 Governors and what is their absentee opinion about state mental health programs? It would be important to know because it has been abundantly clear that the Governor can make or break the mental health program in his state at any time. Non-attendance at the Governors' Conference may be a serious reflection upon the absentee states.

BUT THERE is a promise of better times ahead. One exciting improvement is the developing psychiatric programs at the community level. They emphasize prevention through early diagnosis and treatment close to the home of the patient.

Some states are developing special programs for the elderly; for mentally ill and retarded children; for alcohol and drug addicts; and for the so-called criminally insane. Such programs have proven to be very rewarding.

Other states have reformed their commitment laws, placing increasing emphasis on voluntary admissions, and accepted the "open hospital" concept which acknowledges that all patients do not need to be "locked up". Along with these improvements, some states are de-emphasizing the very large state hospitals and are constructing smaller regional mental hospitals in population centers. These changes provide a better chance to find professional staff members on a full or part-time basis.

In "A Ten-Year Mental Health Program for Missouri," I recommended the development of regional mental hospital services for children to be located in Kansas City, Columbia, and St. Louis. A similar plan for adults was seriously considered but was not recommended because of the excessive cost which in some states reaches \$50.00 per patient, per day. This cost can be scaled down in proportion to the reductions made in the professional treatment staff. When professional staff is greatly reduced, one gets back to the shortages now existing in state hospitals. The building of intensive treatment regional hospitals, without providing proper staff, would make no economic sense, for the cost of staff is the major cost in the long run. For proper treatment, modern buildings are helpful but professional staff is essential.

Several of the states have decided to try the regional small hospital idea. In my judgment, it would be wise for the conservative states to wait a short time to see how this experiment turns out before reaching a final decision. In the meantime, waiting states could try other devices—as already mentioned herein—such as using psychiatric services of existing general hospitals, or using private psychiatric hospitals at state expense.

The road ahead in state mental programs is one of the most important now facing the American people. In a message to the Congress, the President of the United States recently said, "We are making progress — but the total effort is still far short of the need."

In my opinion, state mental health programs cannot be left to a few state employees nor to a few "do-gooders".

Responsibility must rest with the informed citizenry of all states. The alternative is a weak and crippled nation.

Dr. Addison M. Duval is the Director of Training and Research, Eastern State Hospital, Williamsburg, Virginia. He had been the Director of the Missouri Division of Mental Health from April 1959 to the first of this year. While in Missouri he was clinical professor of psychiatry at the Missouri University Medical School. Dr. Duval had a long career in federal service and, among others, had been honored with the Distinguished Service Award by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

HOW

SOUTHERN

IS

SOUTHERN

ILLINOIS?

PAUL SIMON

*A Legislator Candidly
Views The Foibles
And Virtues
Of His Electorate*

ILLINOIS was settled from the south to the north.

When Abraham Lincoln first served in the Illinois legislature, there were many House members from the southern part of the state, but one lone member represented the "great wilderness", the northern one-fourth of the state — territory that now includes Chicago, Rockford, and Rock Island.

Most of the men with whom Lincoln lived and worked were men who emigrated northward. When Lincoln entered politics, sentiment in Illinois was pro-slavery, in large part because the southern part of the state was the populated part. These people came from the south and brought slavery sympathies with them.

The southern part of Illinois still reflects these attitudes.

But things are changing — gradually.

This does not mean that southern Illinois has any monopoly on prejudice. Chicago is not in southern Illinois. Deerfield is not in southern Illinois.

Yet we can hardly receive any salve of conscience by looking either to the south or to the north. We have a big problem and we must solve it.

I remember when my good friend, a Negro legislator, Rep. William Robinson of Chicago, said to me: "Southern Illinois is worse than Mississippi."

PART OF THE answer is that people from Mississippi settled in Illinois. If you look at a map you will discover that the southern tip of Illinois is not far from Mississippi — and farther south than most of the state of Virginia.

Regardless of the cause, our heritage in the southern part of the state is not entirely a good one.

We still have some segregated schools. Illegal, of course, but they're just as segregated as in any southern state we hold up to scorn.

Churches are mostly segregated.

Despite a law that declares the practice illegal, far too many restaurants, motels, and hotels in the southern part of the state do not serve Negroes.

Housing opportunities for Negroes are limited — but here perhaps our neighbors to the north are not much better than we are. Too many of our towns are "all white and proud of it." We have some Negro slum areas that rival anything South Africa can produce.

Employment opportunities for the Negro with real abilities are scarce in the southern part of the state.

"Scarce" is perhaps the wrong word. They are scarce for the white man. They are virtually non-existent for the Negro.

And where there is the chance for employment, the possibility for promotion on the basis of merit is not great.

HAPPILY, THERE is a brighter side to the picture. We are moving forward.

Alton, Illinois is an example.

Ten years ago schools were still segregated at the elementary level. When moves were made for integration, crosses were burned. No really nice restaurant would serve a Negro. There was strong feeling among the Negroes that the daily newspaper was not giving them a "fair shake". The Negro vote was considered purchasable. Hotels refused to accept them. Virtually everything you might dislike about the racial situation in the south was present in Alton, without some of the ameliorating factors the south has.

Today — ten years later — that picture is markedly improved.

All schools are integrated, or at least there is no forced segregation.

Negro teachers are now teaching white children.

The attitude of the Negro population toward the newspaper is much better; the attitude of the newspaper has changed, quietly and undramatically, but it has changed.

The finest hotel in Alton, the Hotel Stratford, practices no discrimination. Its owner, Earl Gaylord, changed the policy stating simply: "Some 2,000 years ago one of my colleagues in Bethlehem turned down someone wanting a room. In a small way I'm trying to make amends by opening our doors to all decent citizens."

A year ago the Association of Commerce co-sponsored an event which had as its main speaker Dr. Ralph Bunche. Ten years ago that would have been unthinkable!

The nearby Shell Oil Refinery which for 40 years had not hired a Negro employee has changed its policy.

The city has appointed a Human Relations Commission, and whether they intended it or not, the Human Relations Commission has moved forward and has made a real contribution.

Other examples could be cited.

Alton still has a long way to go — but it's going in the right direction. A town which produced the mob which murdered Elijah Lovejoy is one of the towns now providing lead-

ership in a cause he would have championed.

The amount of progress varies from city to city.

IN MY HOME town of Troy, when I first came here in 1948, there were many people who really believed that there was a regulation that no Negroes could be in the city after dark. There are still no Negroes living in this community of 1800 people, but they have been in the city to sing in a church, or present a high school program, or simply attend a Sunday morning service. We are not so startled when we walk down the street and see a dark face. When my wife and I have had overnight guests who were Negroes, no one has said a thing. They simply assume that whom we want to have for guests at our house is our own business. The "issue" is gradually dying.

There still are struggles, but the direction is clear. Even the defeats indicate this.

At Mounds City there were two "attendance centers" for one high school district. One, by coincidence (as far as the law is concerned), was all white. One was all Negro. Both were very small and there was no economic excuse for the two high schools existing. In the fall of 1961 they integrated — and fired all of the Negro teachers. The latter action is now being questioned in federal court. I believe the action of firing teachers clearly violated state law, as well as the federal law on which the court action is based. But state officials were reluctant to handle this "hot potato".

Yet even this reverse — if it stands up in court — cannot offset the fact that the student population has been integrated and some day the faculty will be also.

What has caused this change in southern Illinois?

MUCH of it has been caused by the same thing that has caused the change in the south: the Supreme Court. Even though federal action has been largely absent from Illinois, the Supreme Court rulings have told the population which way things are going. We have been prepared mentally.

Southern Illinois University has been a tremendous help. To the credit of President Delyte Morris and the faculty of S. I. U., they have not tried to walk the fence on this issue. Their influence in this region is much greater than that most universities have on their environs. Southern Illinois University has not been an academically cloistered commun-

ity, but has been a moving force in the area. In the area of race relations that has been all to the good.

Part of the credit goes to Negroes from outside of the region who have understood the situation. In this connection, probably no one deserves more credit than Representative Cornel Davis of Chicago. Because of his fiery oratory, he is known chiefly for his speaking abilities. In reality, his courageous pioneering and helpfulness to the southern one-third of the state far overshadow his abilities to spellbind an audience.

Much credit goes to the churches. Particularly strong in this area are the Methodist churches and they have not hesitated to speak forthrightly.

AFACTOR — ridiculous as it may sound — which cannot be overlooked is the desire to have winning athletic teams. High schools that have integrated are coming up with winning teams. When Negro athletes helped give Edwardsville a state basketball championship, the "doubting Thomases" on school integration were silenced.

Finally, you cannot overlook the power of the vote. Many of the Negroes no longer can be herded. There are still many precincts where the man with the big payroll always wins, but there increasingly are precincts where they want to know where you stand on "the issue", and a small minority that have gone beyond that point in political maturity.

Some of the legislators in the southern third of the state refer to "the niggers" in their private conversation, but their voting records do not reflect their talk. They have one eye on the vote back home — another on the increasing number of Negro legislators in Springfield who have a voice in what bills pass and do not pass.

The day will come when "the south will rise again" in Illinois — in the good sense.

We want to grow economically.

We want to grow culturally.

And we want all our citizens to share in that growth.

Paul Simon has served in the Illinois General Assembly since 1954 and is the publisher of several weekly newspapers in Illinois. He has been active in the field of intergroup and interracial understanding and is the recipient of many honors. Simon was nominated for the State Senate in the April primary.

*Challenging The Book Censors,
The Illinois Attorney Maintains
That The Test of a Free People
Is The Freedom To Read*

TEST CASE:

TROPIC OF CANCER

ELMER GERTZ

IT MAY be unusual for an attorney in a case pending in a court of review to write a magazine article with respect to some of the issues involved in that case. For that reason, I have long hesitated. But so much is at stake that even "excusable" silence is inexcusable.

Some months ago, I was retained by Grove Press, the publisher of the book *Tropic of Cancer*, and Henry Miller, the author of that controversial work, to represent them in the Chicago area if trouble might ensue. Soon enough, trouble took the form of four arrests of booksellers who were indemnified by the publisher. In defending each suit, we had no assurance that a victory in any or all of the cases would result in the end of the matter.

What concerned us even more was police action without arrests. In the municipalities surrounding Chicago and in this City, police officers took upon themselves the right to confiscate copies of the book and to direct storekeepers to remove the volume from their shelves. In one community, the police chief stated publicly that anyone who persisted in selling the book would find himself out of business in that community.

AT THAT point, the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union filed a suit for a restraining order in the Superior Court of Cook County, because of interference with the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs as prospective readers. While we agreed with this proposition, it was too tenuous for us to rely upon. We intervened in the proceeding in be-

half of the publisher and author, and ultimately procured a declaratory decree that the book is constitutionally protected. Judge Samuel Epstein held "that *Tropic of Cancer* is not obscene as defined in the law, and that interference by the police in its free distribution and sales should be enjoined . . ." Of the four defendants, only the City of Chicago appealed the decision.

Meanwhile, another suit was filed in the United States District Court, claiming that the civil rights of the publisher and author were being violated.

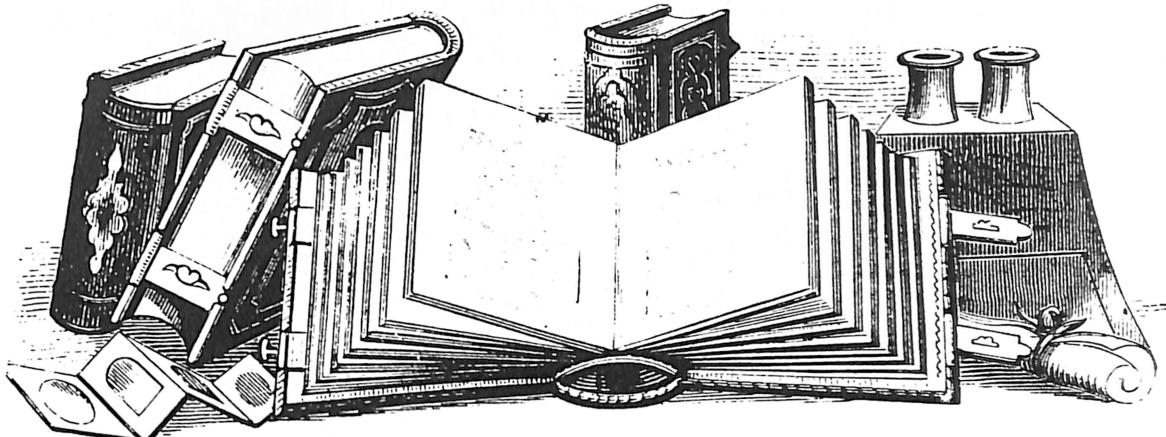
This offensive action was to teach little men that they are playing with fire when they seek to ban books. Only by forceful action will the police learn that the Constitution limits their powers.

Obscenity is a favored target of police intervention. Frequently the police mean by obscenity only the use of so-called dirty words in print (that many police habitually use off and on duty); and the explicit description of the love life of men and women in all of its normal and abnormal variations. Many are convinced that to describe sexual conduct with exactitude is to break the law of the land. Of course, the courts have defined obscenity with more, but not enough, realism. Publications which appeal to the prurient interest of the average person, and lack of redeeming social importance, are obscene; that is to say, if lustful thoughts are aroused, then we may have a case of obscenity—like, let us say, the *Song of Songs*, which is not only of Solomon but of all normal beings.

THE LONG process of offering evidence in the *Tropic of Cancer* trial in Chicago was at an end. The attorneys were making their final arguments before the very patient and learned Judge Samuel B. Epstein, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Cook County. James Dowd declared that his Des Plaines townsmen felt as if the marauding bank robber, John Dillinger, were riding again, when *Tropic of Cancer* was being offered for sale in his town. All good people ran for cover. "You don't really mean that?" the Judge asked, in disbelief. But Jim assured him that verily, verily, they all felt that way. I could understand that to certain temperaments there is nothing more terrifying than a book.

Our neighbor drinks. The Prohibition debacle has taught us that we don't cure intemperance by banning the manufacture and sale of all liquor. Our neighbor smokes too much, and cigarettes cause lung cancer. Nobody even talks of any law banning the weed. But our neighbors read books we don't like, and we ban the books and threaten to put the booksellers out of business. Newspapers report the situation as if a resuscitated Sir Galahad were riding to the rescue of Guinevere.

Everywhere in the nation, and not least of all in the Middle West, books are banned in newsstands, stores, libraries, and schools. This book is banned because it is too vigorous in the support of the United Nations; that one because the head of the Narcotics Bureau in Washington does not think that drug addiction should be treated as a disease, but as a crime. The Boy Scouts,



American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, P.T.A., the church auxiliary and Reverend This and Monsignor That are exercised over some characters that seem to be having fun with sex. The result is the same. In one manner or other, the censors ride again, and to hell with the supposedly cherished First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that freedom of speech and press is inviolate.

One of the tests in obscenity cases, sanctioned by the United States Supreme Court in the famous *Roth* case, is a work's degree of acceptability. If the particular book is freely advertised, sold, and reviewed in the community and is sanctioned by the mythical average and normal man, then it is not obscene, even if it contains many of the four-letter words of Anglo-Saxon origin and deals most explicitly with sexual encounter.

How does one establish this matter of acceptability? One can show that the particular book has been circulated freely in the community for a period of time. One

can have experts testify that they are familiar with community standards and the questioned book meets them. These two methods of proof have the virtue of simplicity. There is another method less simple but perhaps as persuasive. One might pick up books at random at the stores and stalls and compare them with the disputed publication. This is the very thing we attempted to do in the *Tropic of Cancer* case through William Jacobs II, a lawyer and bibliophile of Des Plaines. We got as far as the offer of proof, when the judge suggested that to make such comparisons would keep him busy for too long a period. The volumes we had picked up were garbage without literary qualities. When Henry Miller read descriptions of the books, he expressed disbelief that they are actually being sold at the same time and places where *Tropic of Cancer* is being banned.

Until my offer of proof and the subsequent publicizing of it by Jack Mabley, a columnist of *Chicago's American*, no vendor of any of these works was ever as much questioned by a policeman, let alone prosecuted. For at least a year prior to the action against *Tropic of Cancer*, no arrest had been made for selling any books in Chicago or its environs. Such arrests are not advocated, but it is legitimate to speculate as to the reasons for the strange contrast. Some cynical people suggest that they arrest those who sell controversial works of literature as a coverup for their ignoring of trash. In the midst of the publicity over police action on *Tropic of Cancer*, who would be ungracious enough to ask why other

less worthy books have been left alone?

IT MAY very well be that in the next few years, perhaps in connection with the *Tropic of Cancer* litigation, the United States Supreme Court will make it clear that, at least as far as adults are concerned, obscenity legislation can reach only so-called hard-core pornography, "dirt for dirt's sake" of the French post card variety. The Court may also demand, before there can be a valid prosecution, an adversary judicial proceeding in which the issue of obscenity will be determined. This would put an end to "prior restraint" by the police.

The attempt of censorship by men in authority can be overcome through suits against them for the violation of civil rights. Police officers, particularly in the large communities, will hesitate to subject themselves to the possibility of punitive damages for trampling upon the rights of authors and publishers, not to mention readers. Some individuals and groups will always persist in threatening booksellers, libraries, and schools, in order to impose their own narrow views. While such pressure is individual, sporadic, and unorganized, there is little that can be done about it, except by way of counter-pressure. If one person can tell a bookseller he ought not to handle a particular book, then certainly another person has the right to tell him that if he is too timid to handle the book, patronage will go elsewhere, not only for books, but for more profitable products. Pressure in a democracy does not necessarily have to work one way.

Book in 60 Suits

The Freedom of Information Center (University of Missouri) reports that decisions on about sixty *Tropic of Cancer* cases are starting to be recorded. Decisions have been as varied as the judges and juries sitting on the cases, from quite liberal through straightlaced.

Test Case: *Tropic Of Cancer*

SHOULD A situation arise in which a group organizes to keep particular books or particular authors out of the stores, it becomes an ordinary case of conspiracy in restraint of trade and should be proceeded against accordingly. Of course, we will hear loud squawking by those who feel they have a divine right to choose the reading, drinking, smoking, and living habits of their fellow men. It is hard for some people to realize that, even if their tastes may be better than their neighbors', they cannot impose such tastes; that they have the right to freedom of expression, but not the right to limit the freedom of others. Or, as Judge Epstein declared, "the right to free utterances becomes a useless privilege when the freedom to read is restricted or denied."

How do we guard the reading habits of the young? Just as we bar minors from purchasing liquors and cigarettes, we can bar the sale of pornography to the young. Some object that with paperbacks on open shelves, it is too difficult to control sales. There are similar difficulties in connection with the suppression of other illegal activities. Civil rights cannot give way because of these difficulties.

Moreover, no truly scientific evidence has been presented that erotica has any adverse effect on the conduct of anyone, young or old. Some recognized authorities have even stated that such literature may have a therapeutic effect on some personalities, domesticating what might otherwise erupt into delinquent conduct. Whatever our findings, in Judge Epstein's words: "Let the parents control the reading matter of their children; let not the Government or the courts dictate the reading matter of a free people."

Widely publicized obscenity prosecutions tend to increase, rather than decrease, the sales of the questioned books. To those who fear books, one should advise, "If you want to stop them, don't even whisper their names; let nature take its course."

Elmer Gertz, a Chicago attorney, is the author of several articles and books, including Joe Medill's War and American Ghettos. In 1957-58 he was counsel for Nathan Leopold in his successful parole proceedings and has twice been selected for the Chicago-land honor roll, Chicago Council Against Discrimination.

FOR THE CONSUMER

Information released by Federal Commissions, Better Business Bureaus, or other sources.

Federal Trade Commission

Initial Decisions (These are not final and may be reviewed by the Commission.)

An order by a FTC hearing examiner would require National Bakers Services, Inc., 100 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill., to stop its "less-calories" and weight-reduction claims for "Hollywood Bread," which, he said, merely is sliced thinner than other breads but contains as many calories on a weight basis.

Complaint (Respondents are granted 30 days in which to fill an answer.)

Perma-Lite Raybern Mfg. Corp., 3333 W. Montrose Ave., Chicago, Ill., manufacturers of aluminum storms doors and windows, canopies, patios, and fiberglass awnings, is charged in a FTC complaint with using deceptive pricing claims and other misrepresentations to sell its products.

Answer to FTC Charges (Companies ask that the complaint be dismissed.)

Declaring that its advertising representations are "based on truth and fact" and "have not been false and misleading in any respect," Motorola, Inc., 9401 West Grand, Franklin Park, Ill., has denied FTC charges that it exaggerated the merits of its radio sets, television sets, and replacement parts.

Consent Orders (Respondents' agreement to discontinue challenged practices is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission of a violation of law.)

A consent order issued by the FTC forbids O.E.M. Products Co., a distributor of automotive parts and supplies at 5296 Northwest Highway, Chicago, Illinois, and Robert C. Sanderson, an official, to accept illegal brokerage payments.

Dormeyer Corp., 700 N. Kingsbury Ave., Chicago, Ill., is prohibited by a consent order issued by the FTC from misrepresenting the advertising or promotion given its household electrical appliances or any other product. The order to cease and desist also is binding upon Dormeyer's successors and assigns and its advertising agency, North Advertising Inc., Merchandise Mart, Chicago.

A consent order issued by the FTC forbids Wesco Products Co., Inc., 2300 S. Parkway, Chicago, Ill., to charge different net prices to customers who compete with each other in reselling automotive repair or replacement parts.

A consent order issued by the FTC prohibits Brown and Loe, Inc., 104 E. 5th St., Kansas City, Mo., a wholesale distributor of citrus fruit and produce, from accepting illegal brokerage on its own purchase.

Security Exchange Commission

The SEC has ordered proceedings under the SEC Act of 1934 to determine whether the broker-dealer registration of Harry George Ames, 6906 Jamison Ave., St. Louis, Mo., should be revoked. Ames has been registered with the Commission as a broker-dealer since July 1936. The Commission's staff asserts that he failed to file a report of financial condition for the years 1956 through 1961.

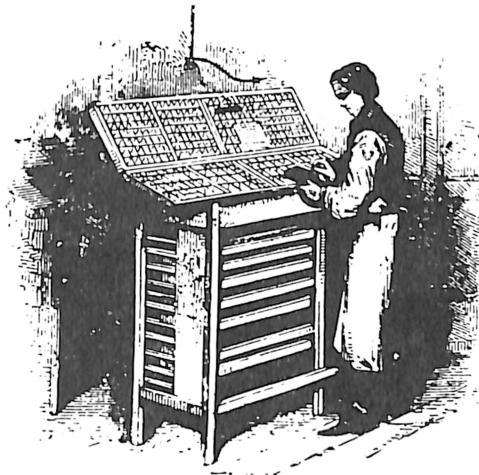
Miscellaneous

The Blanton Company, 3400 N. Wharf St., St. Louis, was charged in United States District Court with 20 violations of interstate commerce safety regulations dealing with work and health records of truck drivers.

Firms doing business in Illinois are subject to "an Act to Prevent Consumer Fraud" recently enacted by the Illinois State Legislature. The law concerns any fraud or misrepresentation in advertising or selling and empowers the attorney general to halt any activities which he considers deceptive, misleading or fraudulent.

A bill regulating the retail installation selling and financing of automobiles (Bill No. 16) died on the Missouri House of Representatives calendar during the last legislative session. Maximum finance rates would have established and auto dealers would have been required to itemize all costs for the consumer such as insurance, interest, cash price, charges per month, and total length of financing.

JAMES L. C. FORD



Who Owns What We Read, Hear, and See?

*Changes In The Ownership Of
Public Media Are Mostly in The Direction
Of Contraction And Overlapping*

SAM JONES picked up his morning paper, the Capital News, published by Colonel William H. Weldon in Jefferson City, Missouri. He read the headlines as he gulped his breakfast coffee. Breakfast over, he kissed his wife goodbye, backed the car out of the garage, and switched the car radio on to KWOS, the radio station owned by Colonel William H. Weldon. That evening, when Sam came home, he read the TV schedules in the evening paper, the Post-Tribune, run by Colonel William H. Weldon. And then, while his wife did the dishes, he turned on the TV set and watched the program on KRCG-TV, licensed to Colonel William H. Weldon.

No decisions to make there. For there is no other daily newspaper and no other TV station in Jefferson City. Yes, there is one competing radio station.

In Rockford, Illinois, Tom Jackson read his morning paper, the Star, read the evening paper, the Register-Republic, listened on his car radio to

WROK, and watched his TV on WREX — yes, all owned by a combine under the corporate titles of Rockford Newspapers, Inc., and Rockford Broadcasters, Inc. In Rockford there is no other newspaper. Two other radio stations and one TV station do share the air.

NINETY ALL fifty of the United States, millions of other Sams and Toms and their wives and children get the same news and views of their world and city from communications media which have made millions out of selling the day's events and entertainment as a precious commodity from which American opinions are made. Newspaper owners control 781 AM, FM, and TV stations, a fifth of the air channels in the nation. Of the country's 1,760 dailies, 485 are owned by chains. Of these, 379 are controlled by absentee owners.

Eighteen states have no local competition in any city in the daily newspaper field. There are eight more states where daily newspaper competition exists only in a single city.

Actually, there are just 87 cities in the United States in which any daily newspaper competition may be found.

What's the picture in Missouri and Illinois?

LOOKING AT the daily newspapers in the Show-Me State, we find only three cities where competition exists — in St. Louis, in Columbia, in Rolla. This compares with ten competing cities back in 1934 when you had a choice in Boonville, Carthage, Columbia, Independence, Kansas City, Lexington, Mexico, St. Charles, St. Louis, and Webb City. Actually, since 1935, the number of daily papers has shown only a slight decrease over-all, from 58 to 54, although the number of weeklies has tumbled from 498 to 343, a decline of 31 per cent. The most startling drop has been in the number of newspaper towns, weekly or daily. Today there are only 296 as compared with 398 in 1935. That's a decline of 102 towns where the presses no longer roll.

Electronic journalism has taken up some of the slack. In 1948 there were 35 AM radio stations. Today there are 78. And now there are 17 TV stations as against only one in 1948. Obviously, radio is replacing some of the small country weeklies — although some observers wonder if radio and TV, which seldom editorialize and frequently minimize local news coverage, really take the place of the small weekly, especially since a considerable proportion of electronic ownership is absentee rather than home-based.

There is some variation in Illinois although the basic situation is the same. In the Land of Lincoln, there also are only three cities where daily newspaper competition exists — in Chicago, and the Champaign-Urbana complex. Back in 1934, there were 9 competition towns — Belleville, Chicago, DeKalb, DuQuoin, Eldorado, Marion, Peoria, Rockford, and Springfield. The total number of daily papers has fallen twenty per cent from 113 to 90, although the weekly total may account for some of the decrease with a slight rise from 628 to 648 papers. Undoubtedly, some of the weaker dailies have become weeklies in fact. But today 39 more Illinois towns are without any paper, a drop from 575 to 536 since 1934.

In Illinois, the radio and TV curve also is rising, with 102 AM radio stations today as compared with 60 in 1948, and 19 TV stations versus the lonely one in 1948, when TV was just getting started.

BUT NUMBER is not the only thing—it's competition and the kind of ownership that counts. Most communications consumers just don't know; they live in a city all their lives without realizing who owns the station or newspaper — and the owners don't advertise the fact. Much of the time multiple ownership is discreetly hidden — certainly not flaunted like a pink Cadillac.

Where common ownership or stock

interest exists which controls newspaper and radio-TV properties, the technical term used by communications researchers for this condition is "cross-channel" ownership. In Missouri, there are at least ten examples of this type of interlocking activity. Broadcasting-Telecasting Yearbook lists five Missouri AM stations under newspaper ownership. These are in Brookfield, Columbia, Jefferson City, St. Louis, and Springfield. There are newspaper-owned or-interest TV stations in Hannibal, Jefferson City, St. Louis, and Springfield.

Radio or TV chains, exercising multiple controls often through absentee ownerships, also hold 24 Missouri AM radio communities and seven TV towns. Missouri papers in the multiple category are controlled by the Dear Newspapers, the Newhouse Newspapers, the Lee Newspapers, and the Stauffer Publications.

Here we can view the modern phenomenon of ever-diminishing competition in a so-called society of "free competition". Rising cost of operation reflected in the price of equipment, wages, basic commodities such as paper — creating wave after wave of merger — has almost eliminated the small, independent, and marginal operation. What has happened to the grocery store, the drug store, to the farm, has come also to communications until fewer and fewer men control more and more of the newspapers, radio, TV, the magazines, and the film industry.

IN ILLINOIS, we see evidence of the trend. Newspaper ownership extends to 27 AM stations in Bloomington, Canton, Champaign-Urbana, Chicago, Danville, Decatur, Effingham, Elgin, Galesburg, Jacksonville, Kankakee, LaSalle, Macomb, Moline, Olney, Peoria, Quincy, Rockford, Rock Island, Waukegan, and West Frankford. There are four newspaper-operated TV stations in Champaign-Urbana, Peoria, Quincy, and Rockford. Electronic chains hold 13 AM radio stations and ten TV outlets.

Several national newspaper operators, plus a number of state chains, are represented in Illinois. The Copley Press not only operates in Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, and Springfield, Illinois, but also nine newspapers in California. The Lee Newspapers number a newspaper at Kankakee among the 16 they control in the Midwest and Montana. They also have major interests in WTAD-AM and KHQA-TV in Quincy — plus at least seven other

"Here we can view the modern phenomenon of ever-diminishing competition in a so-called society of 'free competition'."

electronic outlets. The Gannett chain runs the Danville Commercial-News and the Danville radio station, WDAN, although its main empire is back East where it runs 12 other papers and five radio-TV stations. The Lindsay-Schaub domain extends to six papers and seven radio-TV points, all in Illinois.

More newspaper chains with at least one Illinois unit include the Dear Newspapers, the McNaughton Newspapers, the B. S. Shaw Newspapers, and the Small Newspapers. The chain tendency appears also in the weekly field, with Paul Simon and his partners tying a half-dozen together in their string, all in the past few years.

Major electronic operators are the Balaban Stations, with nine, of which four are in Illinois, as well as WIL in St. Louis. Of course, Balaban also has an extensive empire of motion pictures theaters in the Middle West. Other major radio-TV chains in Illinois include: the Bellinger-Townsend-Kemper Stations, the Kankakee Journal Stations, the Midwest Television Stations, the J. W. O'Conner Stations, and the Cecil W. Roberts Stations. The picture keeps changing as the chains keep adding new links.

NOWHERE is the changing world of communications more in evidence than in major metropolitan centers. In Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City, therefore, as in other major cities, one finds the epitome of diminishing newspaper competition and the rise of electronic media. The number of one-daily cities increased from 42.2 per cent in 1910 to 82 per cent in 1954.

Chicago has witnessed the greatest newspaper decline. Sixty years ago, it had five morning papers — the Times-Herald, the Record, the Tribune, the Inter-Ocean, the Examiner. Of these, today only the Tribune remains. In the afternoon field, in 1901 in the Windy City, there were four dailies: the Post, the Journal,

"Is there a danger point for the American who seeks information to carry out his duties as a citizen?"

the American, and the Daily News. Of these, only two — the American and Daily News — are left. It is true that the Sun-Times has appeared, representing the consolidation of two papers under the Marshall Field banner. However, the News also belongs to Field and the American now is owned by the Tribune. So in Chicago we have only two newspaper ownerships, competing along Lake Michigan and through the hinterland.

Sixty years ago in St. Louis, the morning field was shared between the Globe-Democrat and the Republic. Today there is only the Globe-Democrat, belonging to the Newhouse national chain, most rapidly growing group in the metropolitan field today. In 1901, the afternoon field was dominated then as now by Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch but there were three rivals — the Chronicle of Scripps-McRae, the Evening Star, and the Times. Today all rivalry is over and the P-D stands alone. St. Louis has been reduced from six to two dailies.

In Kansas City, sixty years ago there were the morning Journal and the Times while the Star, the World, and the Post competed in the evening — five dailies in all. Today there are only two left, the Star and the Times, under the same ownership and without any newspaper competition.

Of course, the picture is brighter if one considers the radio-TV aspect. Electronic journalism has grown while the competitive newspaper field has declined. Chicago today has 14 AM stations, 13 FM stations, and four commercial TV outlets. Of these, the Chicago Tribune owns WGN, both AM and TV. In 1948, there were 16 AM and 15 FM stations and only one TV outlet. The same trend is evident in St. Louis and Kansas City. In Kansas City today there are six AM, three FM, and three TV stations operating commercially. Of the TV stations, WDAF was owned by the same interests which controlled the Star-Times until 1957. As a result of a federal anti-trust action, the paper was required to sell its stations. This is one of the relatively few occasions in which the government has moved to break up a communications monopoly. Back in 1948, there was no operating TV station in Kansas City although six AM and four FM stations were on the air.

At present, St. Louis has eight AM and four FM stations while the number of commercial TV outlets has grown from one in 1948 to four today. Thirteen years ago there were six AM and nine FM stations. Of the electronic channels in St. Louis, two in the TV field represent common interest with the two newspapers published in the city. KSD-TV belong to the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat has 25 per cent of KTVI. Of course, KSD radio is Pulitzer-operated.

THE COMMUNICATIONS scene, in control and cross-channel ownerships, which we see represented in our own region is representative of the nationwide picture. The Federal Communications Commission has long been interested in this concentration. In a survey made for it by Dean Roscoe L. Barrow of the University of Cincinnati law school in 1956, Dean Barrow reported:

"The one multiple station owner that controls seven TV stations and has a radio interest also has an ownership interest in newspapers. The three six-station owners include one ownership interest in motion pictures, the four five-station owners include two newspaper interests, one magazine interest and one motion picture interest; the five four-station owners include one newspaper interest and two magazine interests; the 22 three-station owners include seven newspaper interests and two magazine interests; and the 46 two-station owners include 17 newspaper interests, one magazine interest, and one motion picture interest.

"In total, the 81 multiple station owners control 203 TV stations and represent 28 newspaper interests, 74 radio interests, six magazine interests, and three motion picture interests. All the multiple-media owners, except for six of the 28 newspapers and 19 of the 74 radio interests, are those who operate in the top 100 markets. The 58 multiple TV station owners in the top 100 markets account for 155 TV stations and represent 22 newspaper, 53 radio, six magazine, and three motion picture ownership interests."

THESE ARE the facts of life in the communications world. Is the market-place of ideas dwindling? It is certain that units of communications are being concentrated ever more steadily within a limited control. Newspapers and radio, magazines and movies and TV, they are

being bundled together to fit in a single portfolio. No one man has them all in his pocket by any means but fewer and fewer men have packaged more and more papers and stations together conveniently for profit.

Is there a danger point for the American who seeks information to carry out his duties as a citizen? Should there be limits to the control of communications? If so, how should the government function to protect legitimate private interests as well as the over-ruining public concern?

James L. C. Ford is professor of journalism at Southern Illinois University. His professional experience includes editorial work with newspapers, magazines, and wire services. His articles and stories have been widely published. Before coming to S.I.U., he was the dean of the School of Journalism, Montana State University.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 5

Possibly, elections may not be conducted in such terms. "Political Realities" forbid it. Lip service is paid to accepted folkmyths, while sub rosa seminars at governmental levels may face the problems more honestly. The historic point may come that the perpetuation of such myths may harbor a serious crisis of political attitudes and reactions. Somewhere by someone these issues should be brought into the open, the national consciousness acquainted with them, and the lag in our comprehension somewhat reduced.

The repetition of fantasies, be it a "reunited Germany," the "liberation of satellite states," an "upswing in employment," and so forth, not only mislead the public but force the hands of the policy makers. Some lag will always exist between the world of fact and the image of the world in our minds. But there is no necessity to be as backwards as we are. The American is young and can take a shock or two. He can be trusted to learn about the events of today in the concepts of today. Once we have thus been liberated, we will free our policymakers to be more flexible and creative.

JOHN W. DOWNEY

HOMAGE TO JOHN J. BECKER



"The duty of every creative artist is clear. There must be no compromise with mediocrity. There must be a constant striving for perfection. All resources of expression must be mastered, but this is not enough. The composer must add new resources, evolve new techniques, develop new sound patterns, new harmonies, new contrapuntal procedures, new musical ideals, new approaches to orchestral writing, and he must mold them into new forms of beauty. Accomplishing this, he adds new formulae to the ever-changing laws of artistic creation. Laws are made for imitators; creators make their own laws."

John J. Becker

One striking fact emerging from John Becker's activity throughout a relatively long life of creative work is his steadfast devotion not only to advanced contemporary music, but his dedication to its cause in the Midwest. This is singularly important in view of the fact that during Becker's mature creative years, the Midwest was far from being a haven for new musical expression. Refusing to modify his radical and highly advanced musical pronouncements or abandon his dedication to that region which bore, bred, and in a sense refused him the recognition he so very richly deserved, this pioneer of new and original American music remained in the Midwest to further its cause.

Like a select island on abandoned seas, Becker would form his tiny outpost offering harbor to contemporary works that otherwise would have drifted aimlessly over the Great Lakes region. Becker proved himself to be a gifted conductor, and it was he who was responsible for many of the first performances of new works by Ives, Ruggles, Riegger, and Cowell among others, at concerts which he himself organized. Active not only as composer, teacher, pianist, and conductor, Becker also wrote many articles on new music introducing, explaining, and in general championing the cause of contemporary American music. In the various places where he took up residence he was a regular contributor to newspapers and music magazines. After a ten-year stay at South Bend, Indiana, where he was director of music at Notre Dame University, he was invited to St. Paul, Minnesota, to become director of the fine arts division at St. Thomas College. Five years later he was appointed director of the Federal Music Projects for the state of Minnesota where he stayed for ten years. Becker then established himself in the Chicago area where he remained for the last fifteen years. He was associated with both Barat College in Lake Forest and the Chicago Musical College where he held posts as professor of composition.

Why did this advanced musical thinker not emigrate to an area where one would be more musically appreciative of this creator's undeniable talent and striking originality? It can best be explained by Becker's un-

compromising attitude. New York as well as Western Europe offered tempting potentialities. But refuge in either place would have indirectly meant a concession for him. Born and raised in the central states it was there that he decided to work and to live.

Few realize that an important step forward was taken for contemporary music when Becker was appointed an official spokesman at the First International Congress of Catholic Artists held in Rome in 1950. Largely due to his efforts the dichotomy between church music and the contemporary composer working in an avant-garde idiom was brought into harmony. Thanks to his sincerity and persuasive powers the doors of the Church were reopened to contemporary music.

Becker is frequently associated with the group of Ives, Ruggles, Riegger, and Cowell, our underpublicized group of Five of American music offering us a parallel to the Russian Five of Moussorgsky, Balakirev, Cui, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Borodin—or the French Six of Milhaud, Honegger, Poulenc, Auric, Tailleferre, and Durey, with Cocteau as their literary spokesman. A mere grouping of composers is admittedly inconsequential in itself, but what gives our American group significance is the original aesthetical and stylistic ideals that they upheld as a unit which was somewhat of an isolated phenomenon on our North American continent during the first half of this century.

Unlike the more publicized Ives and his astounding anticipations of practically all of the major technical innovations that eventually became accepted stylistic features of 20th century contemporary music as associated with names like Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Milhaud; or the well-known tone cluster effects of Cowell that Bartok later so readily adopted and adapted, Becker hewed per-

haps a less ostensibly brilliant path of innovation, but one none-the-less of great depth in terms of musicality and originality. On glancing at a work of Becker, the precision and frequent sparseness of the scoring seems to engender an initial association with classical principles. Superficially, this is quickly erased by the obvious differences in metrical organization that are immediately apparent in the frequent changes of time-signatures. A much more important differentiation, however, is Becker's particular handling of dissonance which at first glance appears to be a rather turgid application of polytonality. Closer examination reveals a true talent for linear thinking on Becker's part, and a no less striking gift for harmonic sonorities bred perhaps of unconventional techniques, but based on a keenly discerning ear. That which appears so disconcertingly strident when isolated takes on special meaning melodically and harmonically in context in terms of broad lyrical lines or massive chordal effects, the latter relying on generated overtones cunningly calculated to resolve seemingly unrelated superimpositions of dissonant combinations of tones.

Fugues, chorales, and canons abound in the scores of Becker, illustrating an intimate knowledge of Renaissance music and a thorough grasp of its contrapunctal and rhythmic procedures. Together with his intellectual grasp of historical techniques as applied to the craft of composition, Becker forged his own personal style especially concerning harmonic possibilities and timbre. With respect to the latter, Becker shows the fertility of a truly inventive spirit in such works as his symphonies (of which he wrote seven), his *Concerto Arabesque For Piano And Orchestra* of 1930, or his *Concerto For Horn And Orchestra* of 1933. In works like his *Piano Quintet* of 1933 or his *Piano Sonata* of 1938 (both of which bear the subtitle "Soundpiece" as do many of Becker's compositions) he handles the piano with a daring and originality that is striking in terms of exploitation of new sonoral possibilities.

Concerning form as an organizational principle, this, too, was treated often in a highly individual manner by Becker. For example, his *Piano Sonata* is molded into one continuous movement but with highly contrast-

ing sections succeeding each other minus the usual breaks between movements. In order to achieve unity, Becker typically reiterates previously heard sections of a given work and usually the ones most striking in their sonoral affects. This procedure is utilized also in some of his compositions employing the more conventional format of separate movements comprising the work as a whole as evidenced in his *2nd String Quartet* (1937). This is at one and the same time potentially a strong point as well as a weakness. Although this rounds out a composition and admittedly creates balance, given the originality of the individual sections, one wonders at times why our composer courts the risk of becoming slightly repetitious with such highly personal materials in the course of a given work.

Of real interest in his music also are the peculiar melodic contours with their personal Beckerian lyrical quality resembling superficially twelve tone music with the intervallic preferences and melodic skips associated with that style.

A few months before Becker's death, I visited the composer at his Wilmette home. I had programmed his *Piano Sonata* (1938) for a concert on Dec. 11, 1960 sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the International Society of Contemporary Music, and together we reviewed some of the nuances of the score. In true composer-like fashion, Becker, at 74, was busily at work on a new composition, his *4th String Quartet*, which he had almost completed before his death. He spoke with enthusiasm about new plans for coming compositions, and his only indirect complaint was regarding his failing sight which made the notation of his new works a rather severe task. Little was I to realize that this pillar of contemporary music had attended his last live performance of one of his works when he honored me by coming backstage after that I. S. C. M. concert.

Becker's music and ideas remain to form an important part of our musical and cultural heritage.

John W. Downey is a composer, musician, and Chairman of the Department of Humanities at Amundsen Junior College, Chicago, Illinois.

On January 20, 1961, one of the staunchest supporters and truly original creators of new music passed away in Wilmette, Illinois. Dr. John Joseph Becker was born on January 22, 1886 in Henderson, Kentucky, and his death occurred just two days before his 75th birthday.

A Step Beyond

Health And Welfare Services

May Face As Radical A Revolution

As Medical Sciences Did

Fifty Years Ago

EVERY community in America is looking for new and better ways of serving the health and welfare needs of people. We sponsor a vast array of such services, both governmental and voluntary. We spend vast sums on their maintenance, engage the energies of thousands of people, and create an endless variety of agencies for these purposes. Yet our results are too frequently less than what we intend. Why?

Our social service structure has been built in layers over the years. Each succeeding generation has added its own, usually in response to new knowledge or technique, without giving much thought to the effect upon existing services.

Another cause is that our programs tend to be framed in terms calculated to win legislative approval or to extract contributor's dollars. This approach has the unhappy tendency of obscuring important facts, and skews the distribution of money in strange and often indefensible ways. The results are all too apparent: a rather disorderly array of services, largely uncoordinated, ranging in quality from very good to very poor—often in the same community.

A healthy ferment currently moves our communities, a sort of auditing of practices and policies. This grows out of concern for more effective results, and is spurred by the uneasy evidence that we have produced a hard core of relief cases now into the second generation. It also arises from an awareness of the shortage of trained people in every branch of social service—a fact which encourages interest in using as wisely as possible those who are available.

A recent experience throws some light on the questions now being asked, and the various ways of deal-

ing with these questions. A group of prominent citizens in a large American city—a group at the very top of the power structure, as the sociologist would put it—asked two questions: Why do we never have any money for new problems, even though we raise over \$14 million per year, and spend well over \$100 million each year if we take into account public expenditures as well as charitable giving? And can we plan our social services more effectively, taking due account of the rapid expansion of governmental activities in recent years?

IT is noteworthy that these questions did not arise either from a desire to cut back a United Fund goal nor to question the legitimacy of government programs in the health and welfare area. On the contrary, the United Fund method of raising money is fully supported by this group, many of whose members have played leading roles in United Fund activities. The range of governmental service is acknowledged, by and large, as unavoidable in a society as urban and mobile as ours.

What is of concern is the means of assuring efficient and economical operation, an appropriate accent on preventive and rehabilitative services as opposed to simply ameliorative efforts at the point of acute need; the raising of standards governing quality of service administered; and the proper combination of professional staff in agency operations.

The enormous complexity of these matters permit only tentative answers. Our knowledge is very thin. The gulf between knowledge and practice is all too obvious: most social scientists are not in direct contact with social services. The political nature of the questions involved, and

the degree to which professional judgment remains suspect in many quarters, must be taken into account. Yet the signs point toward considerable tolerance for research and experimentation, toward the design of new community frameworks for getting these tasks done well, perhaps even toward the kind of radical revision that transformed medicine some fifty years ago into the modern center built upon the tripod of research, training, and clinical care of the ill and disabled.

Two interesting suggestions have arisen in the above case that may have broad application to other communities. The first is a proposal to establish a quasi-public social planning commission on a regional basis. Such a commission would sponsor continuous study of community and agency problems. It would conduct public hearings and publish reports. It would give advisory service to public and volunteer bodies. It would recruit the assistance of university personnel in speciality areas. It would suggest inter-agency and inter-disciplinary efforts based on research findings and subject to research controls. Its financing would come from local sources, both public and private, and from anticipated

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Homer C. Wadsworth is the executive director of the Kansas City Association of Trusts and Foundations and the vice president of the Kansas City Board of Education. Before he came to Kansas City he was the vice president and dean of the New School for Social Research, N. Y.



JAMES T. FARRELL

Chicago 1929-1930

James T. Farrell is the well-known American novelist, essayist, short-story writer, and critic. These four previously unpublished poems were written in Chicago during 1929 and 1930, at about the time he was writing the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy of novels. Mr. Farrell is presently living in New York City.

NOSTALGIC MOOD

These slight spring winds
Form a frail
And trembling bridge
To Yesterday.
Across their precarious stretch,
I move
Delicate sentiments
That shudder
With the swinging bridge
And their own shaking weakness.
Yet they move relentlessly—
At my command—
Back to you.

SCENE

Slowly, a fog
Descends to clog
The April meanings of the night.
The corner light
Is splayed and feeble.
Buildings have shed the dignity of form
And hulk like enemies
Before the slow advance of quivering greyness.
People all walk, assuming
The mystery of shadows.
Down the quiet streets, creeps
The disturbance of a motorcar,
With weakened yellow eyes,
And a whirring engine, like a voice of Hell.
Just above the formlessness of a hotel,
The moon rides softly,
Through a cloud of tinted vapour.

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POEM

There was only the sunlight
Pressing through a dirty pane;
And the spring day
Swirling over rumbling traffic;
And myself
In a musty room
With coffee grounds,
And cigarette butts,
And scattered books.
And we three,
Sun,
And Spring,
And I,
Formed a trinity
Of laughter.

NIGHT MOOD: CHICAGO MAY 12, 1930

Here spreads the lake,
Blue, cold, insensate,
Pile driving stone shores
And receding, receding,
With all the insensibility
Of mathematical laws.
And there stands the frozen, night-lost survey of my city
Of stonesteel mounds that frame
A human petulance
Which digs, shovels, pounds, builds
In sly escape from that whining why
That breaks its hearts on walls and laws of nerveless
matter.
And I move,
Alone,
Homeless,
Caged,
Watching that far serenity
Of an untouched, ending world,
Where lake and sky melt
Into a false mystery
Of freedom.



BOOKS

Two Contrasting Novels on Modern New York

PORTRAIT IN BROWNSTONE, *Louis Auchincloss* (Houghton Mifflin, \$4.95, 371 pp.)

ANOTHER COUNTRY, *James Baldwin* (Dial Press, \$5.95, 436 pp.)

by Harry T. Moore
Literary Editor
Focus/MIDWEST

These two novels have a particular comparative interest because they have the same setting, New York — with occasional flashes of Europe — and yet they are, in subject matter and language, worlds apart. Louis Auchincloss writes of a well-to-do family, the Denisons of 53rd Street, most of whose men manage investment houses; James Baldwin writes of the denizens of Harlem and Greenwich Village, chiefly young rebels who have escaped into some form of art. Auchincloss is smooth — his very name suggests glossiness — and Baldwin rough. Each book is in its way good reading, though Baldwin has a power beyond the range of Auchincloss.

The first sentence of *Portrait in Brownstone* sketches in the mood and method and reveals at once the derivation from Henry James's style: "I had even reached the point of wondering if Geraldine Brevoort's suicide, so long dreaded, might not prove in the event a relief, but like everything else about Geraldine, when it came, it came with a nasty twist." But if the language is often Jamesean, the story itself seems to derive more from Mrs. Wharton's world. Geraldine's suicide — she was born a Denison — takes place in 1950; the story jumps around, with episodes occurring in irregular order beginning in the early years of the century and working up to 1950. This is not the usual Jamesean technique; his influence is apparent

mostly in the language and in an occasional oblique approach to character.

A more important feature in the book, the changes in society across the years, is far closer to Mrs. Wharton's writing. And it must be added that Louis Auchincloss is expert at depicting such changes: he has all the right props at his command, the necessary make-up for his actors, exactly the right type of speech for the right year. Through all these effects he still manages to tell an interesting story, in which the attractive Geraldine, who killed herself after she had lost her attractiveness, is only a part. Her cousin Ida, who opens the narrative, has the virtue of being a shrewd observer, though outwardly she seems dull; her husband Derrick, a smalltown boy from New England who has made a success on Wall Street, her daughter Dorcas who marries twice, her son Hugo who marries late — all their fortunes and misfortunes are woven through the shifting narrative in a way that keeps the reader reading. As fiction, nothing new or startling is presented; but as a picture of manners the book is carefully and absorbingly done.

But what a different world, and what different manners, we find in James Baldwin's book. It is a world in which people cross color lines and sex lines. These is love between Negro and white, between man and woman, and between man and man, all described with intensive realism, some of it with a boldness that might even make Henry Miller blush. The blurb writer has applied that favorite epithet of blurb writers, "brutal"; here, for once, it applies. The language is the coarse idiom of today's art-circle and jazz-club intellectuals, but the brutality lies deeper than that: it is in Baldwin's fierce vision of life. Louis Auchincloss's characters, though their lives are not always without pain, swim on the surface of the sea of New York; James Baldwin's people are monsters of the deep.

There is, first of all, Rufus Scott, once a famous jazz musician, and now broke and an outcast. He picks up with a white Southern girl, with whom he fights savagely; she winds up in an asylum and he winds up in the Hudson River after apparently jumping off the George Washington Bridge. It might seem a mistake, technically, for Baldwin to kill off so dramatic a character so soon — for Rufus, despite his resentments and rages, magnetized people (as he magnetizes the reader) — but somehow the story goes on strongly without him; his friends and his Lena Horne-like sister Ida pick it up. Ida has a love affair with Rufus's Italian-Irish friend who goes by his middle name, Vivaldo. He wants to be a writer, but doesn't write; on the other hand, his former high school teacher, Richard Silenski, turns out a successful novel and suddenly becomes less successful with his wife, Clarissa (Cass), who then turns to a homosexual actor, not without success. But anything can happen in a Baldwin story, and nearly everything does in this one; the squeamish have been warned off.

Here, then, we have two violently contrasting novels of modern New York. It seems to me that the seasoned reader should be capable of appreciating both of them. The Denisons, with their row of brownstones on 53rd Street, comprise a living gallery; Louis Auchincloss portrays them with an almost icy mercilessness and now and then with a sharp comic touch. His book is, as noted earlier, good. Baldwin's novel, on the other hand, is more profound; it goes more deeply into the savagery underlying our civilization. Oddly enough, neither story is in the fullest sense resolved; the Auchincloss book as a picture of generations stops at a certain point (Hugo's marriage), and the reader has to guess whether the story could ever have an ending and, if so, what it could be. Similarly, in "Another Country," Baldwin leaves most of the fundamental relationships

up in the air; but the reader feels an ending or is at least willing to stop, just as a matter of relief; any more of that intensity would hardly be bearable. Well, one might repeat that Auchincloss is glossy and Baldwin brutal; take your choice, or take both. If you do take both, however, the Auchincloss brownstone will tend to look a little pale beside the ferocity of "Another Country."

The Fragilities of Crystal Are on His Side

PIGEON FEATHERS AND
OTHER STORIES, John Updike (Knopf, \$4.00, 279 pp.)

Reviewed by Webster Schott
Poetry and Fiction Editor
FOCUS/Midwest

One keeps wishing there were a way to lead people to John Updike's stories, for he is writing about us all, all of my generation, anyway. The news from his megropolis of the East is the same as the news out of Clayton and Prairie Village and Elk Grove. As Kenneth Patchen says in one of his prose poems, it's dark out there.

But it's a couple of months now since "Pigeon Feathers" was published. Everyone has reviewed it and, praising John Updike for his intelligence and style, undoubtedly driven readers away by the hundreds. He sounds like the kind of writer everyone else ought to read. Strangely, since its patrons are mostly urban residents rather than from the campus villages of Johnson County, the Kansas City Public Library has had a generous number of requests for the book. But "Pigeon Feathers" is missing from all the best seller lists and will remain so. Well, time is on Mr. Updike's side, and so is almost everything else.

"We . . . have a reach as shallow as our skins. We walk through volumes of the un-expressed and like snails leave behind a faint thread excreted out of ourselves. From the dew of the few flakes that melt on our faces we cannot reconstruct the snowstorm."

That is how, in a story with the unlikely title of "The Blessed Man of Boston, My Grandmother's Thimble, and Fanning Island," Mr. Updike expresses the concern that lies at the center of most of the 19 stories, all but two first published in the *New Yorker*. Investigations of memory—

its provocations, failures, agonies, sweet pleasures — the stories are buoyed up by the romantic delights of personalism and intimacy. They are weighed down by the indulgent burdens of privacy and self-fascination. My daily trips down Main Street at 8:15 a.m., the free associations of sight and mind, the performance of the automobile are never interesting to anyone but me. Sometime see how long you can hold a man's attention along such a conversational line. The eyes begin to wander.

We are not accustomed these days to finding a writer after two novels ("Rabbit Run" and "The Poorhouse Fair"), a first book of stories ("The Same Door"), and a collection of poems ("The Carpentered Hen") still writing persistently about his own factual past and present. But as Mr. Updike, who recently turned thirty, said in defense of J. D. Salinger when he reviewed "Franny and Zooey," about all there is left for us to do in the 20th-century United States is *feel*. One should expect Mr. Updike to turn inward. With each new outrage by the Conventional Wisdom and the Establishment—little by little we surrender our individualism—we have turned inward with him.

The hero of all of John Updike's stories is the same tall, thin young man from Dutch Pennsylvania with the extraordinarily sensitive antennae. The names change from Leonard Hartz to Clyde Behn to Allen Dow to David Kern and others; but the characters remain the same, responding to the loneliness anxieties of identity and destiny; struggling with the ambivalent emotions rising out of family and marriage relationships, the reconstructed memories of childhood, the unresolved sexual conflicts of adolescence and monogamy, the improbable existence of God.

The scenes shift from Pennsylvania (where Mr. Updike was reared on a farm near a small town) to Britain (where he studied art at Oxford) to New York (where he worked as a member of the *New Yorker* staff). But the lay of the land and the shape of the buildings count much less with John Updike than the landscape of the conscience. His stories rise out of the minor rejections that take the blood out of human intercourse: a boy's mistaken profession of love for a high-school girl already involved with a more knowledgeable man; an impenetrable difference in cultures that keeps an American from establishing anything more than work rapport with an English art student; a failure of empathy that silences a

young husband when he points out a magnificent black bird against a virgin-white morning snow ("Eat your egg," she replies to his shout of joy for the bird); a narrowness of humanity that prevents an A & P manager from detecting the incongruous beauty of three bare-shouldered girls in bathing suits striding through the tomato-can aisles of a supermarket. And always the roots of these stories lead back to the gangling, hyper-sensitive boy in Pennsylvania who raged against the discovery that his minister's God was made of jelly, who lost his belief in the soul immortal by shooting pigeons in a hayloft, who learned the meaning of death by witnessing it within the family.

John Updike writes fiction in the manner of poetry. He loves words and their nuances. His sentences take flight—occasionally to collide aloft. He achieves striking linguistic effects — commanding oratory in "Lifeguard," religious exhortation in "Archangel," time - and - space distances in "Dear Alexandros"—while still testing his abilities against the infinite possibilities implicit in language. As in poetry, his experimental stories place events in juxtaposition to show relationships of emotion and character. Both "The Blessed Man in Boston" sequence and the other multi-plot story, "Packed Dirt, Churchgoing, a Dying Cat, a Traded Car," exercise this poetic imperative. Having found one meter, Mr. Updike moves to another.

There is a quality about John Updike's stories that one cannot nail down with nice book review parallels or similarities. James Joyce and Conrad Aiken, both poets as well as storytellers, have written with a sensibility as delicate as Updike's, but his fictions are insistently original. Their style, lingering over lovely language and deliberately casual in exposition, is one thing. Another is their presentability. More than any other American writer, with the exception of J. D. Salinger, John Updike is writing about the lonely life of the spirit of the college-educated, God-forsaken young American adult. It is a narrow, intensely personal and adolescence-bounded emotional life, exceedingly sensitive. As knowledge has expanded in every direction, the new American conscience seems to have gone inward to flourish. All the fragilities of crystal are present in John Updike's stories. They cannot be denied. At the moment, he writes masterfully in a manner that must be described, for all his virtuosity, as brilliantly minor.

Man Can Direct Destiny

THE EXCITEMENT OF SCIENCE, *John Rader Platt* (Houghton Mifflin, \$3.50, 174 pp.)

Reviewed by E. U. Condon,
Wayman Crow Professor of Physics,
Washington University

This is an exciting and stimulating book which can make a major contribution to society's understanding of scientists and of how they work and behave. The author is professor of physics at the University of Chicago, a man who is unusual among physicists for the range of his interests in chemistry as well as in biology, a fact which shows to good advantage in his writing here.

The first five chapters are essays that have appeared earlier in various magazines during the past five or six years, the remaining four have not been published before. The theme is stated in the Introduction, "We are not in the grip of incomprehensible forces. The mind of man can determine the quality of the life of man, not by mystical but by operational methods. And today we live in a time when self-directing man, knowing and acting, can at last begin to use his highest intelligence to take responsible charge of his destiny."

In the first two chapters he gives an informal portrayal of some of the ways of working of research physicists and chemists and of actual conditions in the graduate schools, drawn from the author's own experience. Here and there this may be a little difficult for the general reader when specific scientific matters are dealt with by casual allusion only. Some footnote documentation would be desirable. Occasionally a journalistic phrase goes much too far for accuracy, as on p. 17 where it is said that Hamilton's quaternions were "thought by his contemporaries to indicate mild insanity." I doubt this. On the contrary there flourished for a time an International Association for the Promotion of Quaternions! Similarly, on p. 30 in talking of the relative obscurity of Willard Gibbs, he says, "Small wonder that nobody noticed him but Maxwell." There is an anachronism here: Maxwell died in 1879 before Gibbs' major papers were published. On p. 27 in speaking of the importance for science of good terminology he says that our

thinking about electricity is "plagued" by Franklin's having called the two kinds, "positive" and "negative," but most physicists, I think, regard this as a most happy and felicitous choice.

Also, for my taste, there is a little too much emphasis on winning the Nobel prize as a motivating goal among scientists. In physics, at least, the amount of first-rate work that is going on now has become so great that it is no longer possible for the Nobel award to be given to all of the work that deserves it, which therefore makes possession of the award less meaningful than it once was.

Chapter 4, "How Far Can We Foresee" contains a charming discussion of some of the old books that prophesied technological change.

Platt has some interesting ideas on what does determine the direction of technical change now that our mastery of basic physics and chemistry has gone so far: "Whenever a highly complicated research program gets under way, the technological improvements become limited not so much by what is possible or by what an Edison can think up as by what men desire . . . In this real sense our conveniences and gadgets are simply wished into being, when we wish hard enough. . . . Going to the moon is not a matter of physics, but of economics."

Chapter 6, "Plain Talk about Intelligence" discusses the curious tradition in our country whereby we discourage girls from going into science and engineering. Occasionally, the author's general optimism leads him to slide past a serious deficiency. For example, he speaks of studies (p. 96) which show that "at least half of the white Protestant boys capable of getting Ph.D.'s in the physical sciences do get them." Possibly this merely means that the study in question confined itself to white Protestant boys, but why did it? What about colored, Jews and Catholics, and girls? How are we dealing with them in these times of great shortages of scientists.

Platt thinks that the tendency of highly intelligent girls to marry highly intelligent boys is helping, whether by inheritance or early stimulation, to produce more bright children. And then he says (p. 100), "It is all the result of coeducation." I like coeducation, too, but I think it is not *all* the result of coeducation because even before the great throughways were built, even then there was a good deal of intermarriage between Vassar and Yale, and between Bryn Mawr and Princeton.

The last three chapters, "The Art

of Creative Thinking," "The Motivation of Creation," and "Scientific Knowledge and Social Values" are the best of all, providing a most stimulating discussion of actual conditions existing in the interplay between science and society as it exists in post-war America.

The last chapter in particular deals with the damned-if-you-do-and-damned-if-you-don't attitude which the public has toward physicists who are being called on by governments to make for society deterrent weapons of total obliterative power while people tremble lest there may be some flaw in the deterrence. Scientists comply because of government demands. The reluctant ones are ostracized and persecuted.

Some 120 billions of human resources are presently being wasted in support of the gigantic arms race annually. What men could do if that vast river of wasted wealth were diverted into "meeting our individual and collective needs for food and warmth, for thought and communication, and for novelty and beauty and enterprise."

Platt says: "It is not our acquisition of knowledge that is dangerous, but our failure to know and agree on the ends we want to put it to. Whenever the values of individual integrity collide with the values of social organization, or whenever the purposes of one group or nation collide with those of another, greater scientific knowledge can only make the collisions more catastrophic. But when certain primary goods, such as the mutual increase of health or wealth or survival, are clear and are the same for all parties, as I think in some of our major problems they can be and will be, the contributions of scientific knowledge toward the solution are clear also, and the blessings of knowledge become unmixed blessings. We use the truth we know to get the good we think we want. When the good is clear, the value of the truth is clear also."

In a significant anti-censorship decision, the general counsel of the Post Office Department has approved mail delivery to book-sellers of "The Complete Book of Birth Control" by Dr. Alen F. Guttmacher. Louis Doyle's decision specifically overruled the Chicago Post Office's recent refusal to accept 7,000 copies of the book destined for paperback distributors.

DILLIARD

Continued from page 6

inquiry. When the Socialist Club at the University of Minnesota invited Communist Benjamin J. Davis, one of the defendants in the original Communist prosecution and conviction, to speak in Coffman Memorial Union, a committee of protest was formed. Said the objectors: "It will be a travesty of free speech to allow Mr. Davis or any other Communist to speak on our university campus."

Dr. Wilson not only stood fast for free discussion, but issued a clarion statement of his position. He said: "The University is a product of a free society. It is neither afraid of freedom nor can it serve society well if it casts doubt on the ability of free institutions to meet the challenge of doctrines foreign to our own."

Chancellor George Wells Beadle was no more disturbed when a public symposium on freedom of the press was held at the University of Chicago's International House with Sam Kushner, editor of the midwest edition of the Communist Daily Worker. Taking part in the give and take of the panel and the audience were representatives of the Chicago Daily News and Chicago's American.

The symposium was sponsored by the University of Chicago student newspaper, the Daily Maroon, and Malcolm Sharp, professor of law, presided and introduced the members of the panel. The Communist speaker made his points in his own way and then found himself answered in many respects in fair and open exchange.

Marquette University in Milwaukee comes into the scene as an institution that barred Frank Wilkinson from speaking after he had been granted the right of free speech at the University of Wisconsin. When Wisconsin law professor William G. Rice commended Wisconsin's president, C. A. Elvehjem, on the university's adherence to his historic principles, he also praised a group of Marquette faculty members who protested the stand taken at their own university against allowing Wilkinson to speak.

BUT IT IS Ohio State that is rent asunder by controversy over fear of exercise of free speech. The rule is, as at many universities and colleges, that speakers may be invited by an accredited student organization with an approved faculty member as adviser. Ohio State's Students for Liberal Action, with Dr. Shephard Liverant, associate professor of psychology, accredited as faculty

adviser, invited three speakers from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York City. The meeting was announced and the public invited. One speaker was to have been Phillip A. Luce, who holds a master's degree in history from Ohio State. Another was to have been Clark Foreman, director of ECLC.

When Luce was a graduate student at Ohio State he worked for abolition of segregation in student housing, establishment of a chapter of N.A.A.C.P., and elimination of racial bars in fraternities. These activities had not made him the No. 1 student at the President's office.

Cancellation of the meeting set off a controversy that has split the Ohio State faculty as few faculties have been divided. Rising criticism of President Fawcett's summary act caused the administration to assemble a large staff and faculty meeting to which even agricultural agents were summoned. By a vote of about 1000 to 500 the President was upheld, but many voted under obvious pressure and several hundred would not vote to support the President's act, preferred not to vote against him and so did not vote at all.

Speaking the sentiments of many students, James Gross, student body president, said: "Students of this campus are mature individuals, capable of deciding for themselves which views they should hear and which they should accept. The student body should have the right to hear all speakers, even though we may not agree with them."

The editors of the Ohio State Lantern saw to it that every development was fully and fairly reported, with extensive quotations from President Fawcett and faculty members pro and con. Editorialy, they were courageous enough to ask "if outside pressures from individuals who disagreed with the ideals that the S.L.A. speakers were to present forced President Fawcett into an action that will do great harm to the university and its reputation in responsible academic circles?"

The essence of President Fawcett's position was that the speakers would not have contributed "to the university's educational program" and therefore were "not acceptable as guest speakers." Believing that, he concluded that it was his duty to cancel the meeting.

Here are a half dozen comments in criticism of the university administration's course:

James E. Hurd, graduate student:

"I am shocked to find that a majority of professors at Ohio State University are too ashamed of what they believe to make a commitment to those beliefs. One consolation—at least they have the decency to be ashamed of what they believe."

John Braeman, instructor in history: "I humbly suggest that the name of this institution be changed to the Ohio State Institution of Chicken-Plucking, Pea-Picking, and Cow-Doctoring. Judged by the faculty meeting, these are the major types of intellectual activity desired and encouraged here."

Nancy E. Krody, graduate student: "Perhaps it is not those students and professors who value academic freedom who should pack their bags and move on, but rather those administrators and/or trustees who refuse to accept freedom of inquiry as a legitimate part of the definition and purpose of an university."

Robert M. Estrich, chairman, department of English: "We cannot truly educate our students unless we give intellectual freedom to them. They are not children. They are not the citizens of tomorrow. They are citizens now. Let us help them to as rapid a maturity and as rich an intelligence as we can."

Foster Rhea Dulles, professor of history, (a resolution he presented to the faculty in an attempt to re-establish basic principles of freedom): "In the interest of upholding the standards and the status of a free university in a free society, the faculty of The Ohio State University affirms its full support for the right of free speech on this campus for guest speakers invited by any recognized student organization with the approval of its adviser—free from restraint or intervention by administrative authority."

And so there are many distressed minds and heavy hearts at Columbus. But what are they compared with football and basketball championships, and after all, Ohio State does shine on the gridiron and the backboards.

Dilliard, a writer and lecturer, is known for his practice and defense of civil liberties. He is the former editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial page. His contributions have appeared in many national magazines and he is now an editorial columnist with the Chicago American.

Letters

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With best wishes to you and your associates for the success of this new and challenging publication.

*Richard J. Daley, Mayor
City of Chicago*

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me this copy. I shall make it a part of my evening reading.

*Everett McKinley Dirksen
U.S. Senator*

... Have gone through the magazine reading several articles and want you to know I found it of great interest. Certainly believe this publication can be of great importance to the people of the Middle West.

*Edward V. Long
United States Senator*

My first reaction was one of curiosity, which quickly turned into delight and sheer joy to read such frank and absorbing articles that dealt with the hard issues of our time in our own area. Your Inaugural edition was outstanding. I was particularly interested and impressed by articles by Irving Dilliard, Robert A. Salisbury and P. C. Robinson.

*Theodore S. Martin
St. Louis Alderman*

... the selection of subject matter was broad and good, and in general the articles were well written . . .

*Hilliard Cohen, M.D.
Kansas City, Missouri*

Mr. Shriver has shared with me a copy of your Inaugural Issue and let me join him in commending you for the excellent publication.

*Lloyd Wright
Peace Corps*

May I say that I have found this inaugural issue extremely interesting and informative.

*Dan Rostenkowski
U. S. Representative (Illinois)*

Congratulations on an outstanding Inaugural Issue . . . If you can keep up this standard, you will be working marvels.

*Dr. Helen T. Graham
St. Louis*

The articles are of obvious interest and appeal to anyone interested in understanding the social, political, economic and cultural phenomena of the Midwest region. We plan to follow your succeeding numbers.

*David D. Henry, President
University of Illinois*

... My wife read the (P-D) Sunday Magazine article about it and asked me how she could obtain a copy. She was delighted when I produced it.

*Omer H. Avery
State Senator (Missouri)*

I have just completed an examination of my complimentary copy . . . (and can) offer nothing but praise and commendation. Sincerely, and not tritely, it fulfills a need . . . I'll take a chance on FOCUS/Midwest and pray to the good Lord for enough time to read it. (Incidentally, it is easy to read; exceptionally well written and skillfully edited).

*Girard T. Bryant, Assistant Dean
Junior College of Kansas City*

... I want to be among the first to congratulate you on the result. I had expected an excellent job, but you have exceeded my expectations by a wide margin. You are off to a fine start!

*James N. McClure
Professor of Journalism*

... Let me say that I have read this from cover to cover and feel that all the work and worry and sweat which I know that you put into this job seems to me to have paid off . . .

*Leonard Hall
Possum Trot Farm
Caledonia, Missouri*

Congratulations on the fine initial issue of FOCUS/Midwest.

*John F. Hornback, Leader
Ethical Society St. Louis*

My heartiest congratulations to you on Volume 1, Number 1, of FOCUS/Midwest. The publication is most attractive in every way—content, appearance, illustrations and format. May there be many volumes to come with ever increasing public interest and general circulation.

*Arthur J. Freund, Attorney
St. Louis*

Congratulations on your first issue. It is an excellent beginning . . .

*Herman Bowmar
Glendale, Missouri*

... I also want . . . to congratulate you on an excellent first issue. I sincerely hope that you will be able to maintain this high level. Not only were the articles interesting, vital, and important — but they were also readable . . .

*Rabbi Jerome W. Grollman
United Hebrew Congregation
St. Louis*

Congratulations on the inaugural issue of FOCUS/Midwest. . . . You certainly deserve results for you have persevered and have established a journal of merit . . .

*Hayes Beall, Director
Educational Services
Cooperative League, Chicago*

Though obviously uncommitted, your first issue maintains a balance that promises to weigh and assay most of the issues and conditions of this clearly unique region. It is newsy in the sense that it picks up situations that our highly mechanized daily press has no facilities for handling. Fundamentally, a newspaper is a tool for adult education, a function of which editors are generally unconscious. In this lapse is the opportunity for FOCUS/Midwest. First off, "For The Consumer" and the "Voting Records" recognize the arts of buymanship and votemanship in a most practical way. Now at last the ultimate consumer is coming to realize his power . . .

*Paul Greer, Editor
Missouri Adult Education Ass'n.*

Congratulations on the first issue. The cover, the articles, the "Out-of-Focus" column, the whole set-up, are all to the good.

*Park White, M. D.
St. Louis*

I was fortunate enough to see your initial issue and I wish to congratulate you on its excellence and upon its objectivity.

*Roger W. Irving
Springfield, Illinois*

Congratulations on FOCUS/Midwest 1962! . . . I found it interesting and provocative. It has answered many of the questions I have raised. I think it will serve a real function for this area of the country and perhaps will goad the conscience of those who are complacent.

*Dan Asher, Regional Director
American Jewish Congress*

WADSWORTH

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national sources on a project basis.

This suggestion recognizes that we do not have sufficiently orderly ways of creating an informed public opinion. The commission would seek to do so through its hearings. Also implicit is the view that our present machinery does not have proper scope, either spatially or in terms of the enormous variety of services involved; nor does it have appropriate incentive to look ahead and to anticipate the needs arising from rapidly changing conditions. The commission would perform a service not unlike that now provided by city planning commissions in the controls administered over land use.

THE SECOND suggestion deals with the vexing problem of finance. Most places lack what might be called venture capital for community purposes. Public funds are vested for specific purposes determined by Congress, state legislatures, or local public agencies. Private funds are never sufficient to meet budgetary requests of member agencies.

To proceed a step beyond the present impasse, it is suggested that the United Fund agency allot two per cent of its total income for research and demonstration effort, just as most industries set aside funds for continuous study of new products and new means of distribution. This sum might be placed at the disposal of the proposed commission. Efforts should be made to augment such funds with grants from local trusts and foundations, this being really one of the major ways in which such groups can best serve their communities.

What would this mean in the case mentioned? That city's United Fund raises annually about \$14 million dollars. Two per cent of this amount is \$280,000. The abundance of local trusts suggests that a matching fund for at least a five-year period is possible. Therefore, an annual sum of \$560,000 would appear to be feasible—perhaps as little as one-half of one per cent of the total volume of current health and welfare expenditures in that community.

It is not to be expected that such efforts will have magic results. What they are more likely to produce is a healthy ferment, a research point of view, a milieu into which creative and imaginative people will flow as they see opportunity for testing out that which their study suggests as worthy of trial.

Coming Up!

Readers have called FOCUS/Midwest: ". . . of appeal to anyone interested in understanding the social, political, economic, and cultural phenomena of the Midwest region . . . excellent . . . attractive . . . needed . . . well written . . . newsy . . . journal of merit"

Subscribers can still start with the Inaugural Issue, if they mail their order right away. In the following months you will read articles by Abner J. Mikva, Gov. John M. Dalton, David M. Grant, Mark Perlberg, Ralph Helstein, Robert Marks, Martin L. Faust, Tilghman R. Cloud, Harry Barnard, Robert G. Hoyt, and many others.

Here are a few of the singular articles you will find in FOCUS/Midwest:

GRIT—Gradual Reduction of International Tensions, a theory by Charles E. Osgood, social psychologist at the University of Illinois, has caught the imagination of high-ranking policy makers.

David M. Grant, legislative research director for the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, makes some fine distinctions on the use and abuse of lie detector tests.

"A part of our liberty will be surrendered," if the Attorney General's suggested wiretapping law is enacted declares United States Senator Edward V. Long in an article opposing such legislation.

Fulton, Missouri, the city of Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, is vividly portrayed by Hugh P. Williamson, a judge at Fulton. The "intelligentsia" and the "outcasts", the many elements which compose a city, are brought to life.

Frank Kelly could not disappoint his mother nor her neighbors back home—an appointment with President Truman had to be arranged. Author of Truman's 1948 back-platform campaign speeches, Kelly also recalls how and why President Truman decided to use the A-Bomb.

An ever increasing economic segregation is the major threat to America's educational system, finds University of Chicago Professor Robert J. Havighurst.

Prairie Village—or suburbia anywhere—comes under scrutiny by Webster Schott.

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Key SENATE BILLS

A Authorizes the President to buy \$25 million of UN Bonds and to match purchases by other nations up to additional \$75 million. Amendment to keep US economic aid from any UN member more than a year delinquent in its regular and special UN assessments. (S 2768) Amendment defeated 15-78. (4/5/62).

B Substitute amendment keeping US out of UN military operations without approval from Congress, also cancels UN debts to US incurred in the Congo and Middle East. (Substitute did not include authorization for US loan or purchase of bonds.) (S 2768). Defeated 21-72. (4/5/62).

C Amendment limits US loan above \$25 million, to amount of actual, not promised, loans by other UN members. (S 2768). Defeated 29-64. (4/5/62).

D Authorizes President to loan up to \$100 million to the UN. (S 2768). Passed 70-22. (4/5/62).

E Motion to discontinue debate on civil rights bill (which decreed that anyone with a sixth grade education may vote in federal elections) after second failure to limit debate. (S 2750). Passed 49-34. (5/15/62).

Key HOUSE BILLS

F Authorizes over \$63 million for Peace Corps expansion from 920 volunteers to 10,000 by Aug. 31, 1963. (HR 10700). Passed 317-70. (4/2/62).

G The Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill (Fiscal year 1963). Motion to reduce US payment for UN Congo operation to 32.02 per cent of the contributions made by other nations rather than 32.02 of total cost. Defeated 153-235. (4/4/62).

H Authorizes President to regulate agricultural and textile imports (HR 10788). Passed 312-81. (4/11/62).

I Legislative Appropriation Bill (Fiscal year 1963). Motion to prohibit use of postal funds to pay for handling congressional franked mail addressed only to "occupant." (HR 11151). Defeated 192-197. (4/11/62).

J Authorizes the FCC to require TV set manufacturers to make sets receiving both the 70 UHF channels as well as the 12 VHF channels. (HR 8031). Passed 279-90. (5/2/62).

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In Kansas City

Bookstore, 7 W. 12th
Additional listings in the next issue

Voting Records of Area Legislators

Senators	A	B	C	D	E	
Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)	N	N	N	Y	N	
Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.)	N	N	N	Y	N	
Edward V. Long (D., Mo.)	N	N	N	Y	N	
Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)	N	N	N	Y	N	
Dist. Representatives		F	G	H	I	J
1 William L. Dawson (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
2 Barratt O'Hara (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
3 William T. Murphy (D)	Y	N	A	N	Y	
4 Edward J. Derwinski (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	
5 John C. Kluczynski (D)	A	N	Y	N	Y	
6 Thomas J. O'Brien (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
7 Roland V. Libonati (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)	Y	N	A	A	Y	
9 Sidney R. Yates (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
10 Harold R. Collier (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
11 Roman C. Pucinski (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
12 Edward R. Finnegan (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	
13 Marguerite S. Church (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	
14 Elmer J. Hoffman (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	
15 Noah B. Mason (R)	N	Y	N	PY	N	
16 John B. Anderson (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	
17 Leslie C. Arends (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
18 Robert H. Michel (R)	Y	Y	A	A	N	
19 Robert B. Chiperfield (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
20 Paul Findley (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
21 Peter F. Mack, Jr. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
22 William L. Springer (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
23 George E. Shipley (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
24 C. Melvin Price (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
25 Kenneth J. Gray (D)	Y	N	Y	N	A	
Missouri						
1 Frank M. Karsten (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
2 Thomas B. Curtis (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	
3 Leonor K. Sullivan (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
4 William J. Randall (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
5 Richard Bolling (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
6 W. R. Hull, Jr. (D)	A	N	Y	Y	Y	
7 Durward G. Hall (R)	A	Y	N	Y	N	
8 Richard H. Ichord (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
9 Clarence Cannon (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
10 Paul C. Jones (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	
11 Morgan M. Moulder (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	

Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill
N—Voting against the Bill
PY—Paired for the Bill
PN—Paired against the Bill

AY—Announced for the Bill
AN—Announced against the Bill
A—Absent

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